1. The attached paper was prepared here with the thought that it would be distributed to the interested parties by CIA. As I mentioned to you over the phone this morning, it would be much less complicated if a note covering the same points were submitted by Ambassador Kohler at the 303 Committee meeting. (He could even make the points verbally if that would be more convenient.) This way the whole apparatus of the 303 Committee need not get involved and yet the points can be made to the Committee and can be incorporated in the Committee's decision on the Ukrainian project.

2. In paragraph 2 of the attached memorandum, an annual review of the project by the 303 Committee is called for. This was an interpretation from a note in your memorandum to me that there should be an annual review. I wonder whether it wouldn't be as effective -- certainly it would be more simple--for the Agency to review the value and effectiveness of the project with appropriate officers of the Department of State annually and submit a new paper to the 303 Committee only in the event that the Department would recommend significant changes or termination. As I see it, this would provide a good forum for substantive discussion of the project with the government department most immediately concerned, while avoiding the mountain of paper work often involved in the preparation of 303 papers. This objection is made only in the interest of bureaucratic simplification, and if you believe that 303 review on an annual basis is really called for, we waive our objection without further comment.

3. Concerning paragraph 4 of the attached memorandum, the restatement of the ZP/UHVR's attitude on Ukrainian nationalism is an accurate reflection of the true situation. To imply that they only "reflect existing Ukrainian nationalist sentiment" might be misconstrued. On the other hand, we are certain in our statement that it does not attempt to provoke separatist manifestations. As I mentioned over the phone, the legal complications which we had thought might involve the relocation in Germany do not exist and the grafting of current Prolog activities, as appropriate, on to the Suchasnist organization in Munich should present no legal difficulties.



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4. As the memorandum notes, our Chief of Station in Bonn did brief the Ambassador and has obtained his concurrence for the changes you propose to make insofar as they affect Germany.

5. Attached for your convenience is a copy of your comments.

Distribution:

Mr. Donald MacDonald, INR, State Dept.

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(Blind memo from DC/SB/SOV to Mr. Donald MacDonald, Department of State) regarding AERODYNAMIC 303 Paper)

21 November 1967

MEMORANDUM FOR: The 303 Committee

SUBJECT: Modifications in Memorandum on Political Propaganda and Intelligence Activity Directed Against Soviet Ukrainians, 30 October, 1967

Last-minute consultation with the Department of State prompts CIA to submit the following items in clarification or modification of the plans outlined in the referenced memorandum:

1. In relocating the legal base of the ZP/UHVR to Germany, CIA proposes to liquidate Prolog as an American corporate entity and to merge its publishing activity and its headquarters with <u>Suchastnist</u>, a related activity which is already established and incorporated in Munich, Germany. The appellation "Prolog" will be used to designate the publisher of books produced by <u>Suchastnist</u>, whether these books are published in Germany or elsewhere outside the United States. It is not anticipated that it will be necessary to initiate the incorporation of any new entity in Germany, or otherwise to call the attention of German authorities to any changes in this emigre activity. If, in

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the course of relocation, it becomes necessary to make any such changes, the US Ambassador's specific concurrence will be sought.

2. Continuation of the activity described in referenced memorandum will be contingent upon annual review of its value and effectiveness by the 303 Committee.

3. Ambassador McGhee has been briefed on the details of the plans for reorganization and relocation of this activity, and has indicated his concurrence.

4. It is to be stressed that while the ZP/UHVR reflects and encourages Ukrainian nationalism, it does not attempt in any way to provoke active separatist manifestations in the Ukrainian SSR. Since minority nationalism is currently expressed primarily by dissident writers, the ZP/UHVR's role as a Western sounding-board for intellectual dissidence is entirely consonant with CIA's other efforts to encourage liberal sentiment in the USSR as a whole.

5. Finally, to be more specific in its recommendations on the future of this activity, CIA recommends that the 303 Committee (1) approve continuation of a CIA relationship to Prolog on the understanding that this decision will be subject to annual review of Prolog's value and effectiveness; (2) approve the merger of Prolog's activities with Suchastnist in Munich, and the continued residence of certain Prolog

personnel in the United States, and (3) take note of the fact that Prolog publications find a limited market in the United States.

SECRET EYES ONLY

Proposed Amendments to Memorandum for 303 Committee, 30 October 1967, Subject: Political, Propaganda and Intelligence Activity Against Soviet Ukrainian

Page 1, Section 1, Summary

a. Change third and fourth sentences as follows:

"CIA proposes to liquidate Prolog as an American corporate entity and merge its publishing activity and headquarters with that of a related activity already established in Munich, and to use the Prolog personnel remaining in the U.S. for contact operations with Soviets. There will be informal supervision of European activities from the U.S. as a result of continued residence here of the head of the combined organization, whose actual leadership will be recognized and accepted by all members of the organization regardless of the formal arrangements to be made by the reorganization."

b. Add a sentence immediately preceding the last line on page 1, reading as follows: "Continuation of the activity in future years will be contingent upon annual review of its value and effectiveness."

Page 4, Section 3b

Add the following sentence at the end of the section: "Prolog does not seek to promote Ukrainian separatism, although it must reflect existing Ukrainian nationalist sentiment."

Page 7, Section 6, Coordination

Change the fourth sentence to read as follows: "Ambassador McGhee has been informed of the proposal to merge Prolog with and concurs."

Page 7, Section 7, Recommendations

Change to read as follows:

"CIA recommends that the 303 Committee (1) approve continuation of a CIA relationship to Prolog on the understanding that this decision will be subject to annual review of Prolog's value and effectiveness; (2) approve the merger of Prolog's activities with ________ in Munich, and the continued residence of certain Prolog personnel in the United States, (3) take note of the fact that Prolog publications find a limited market in the U.S."

SECRET EYES ONLY